







John Carter Brown.

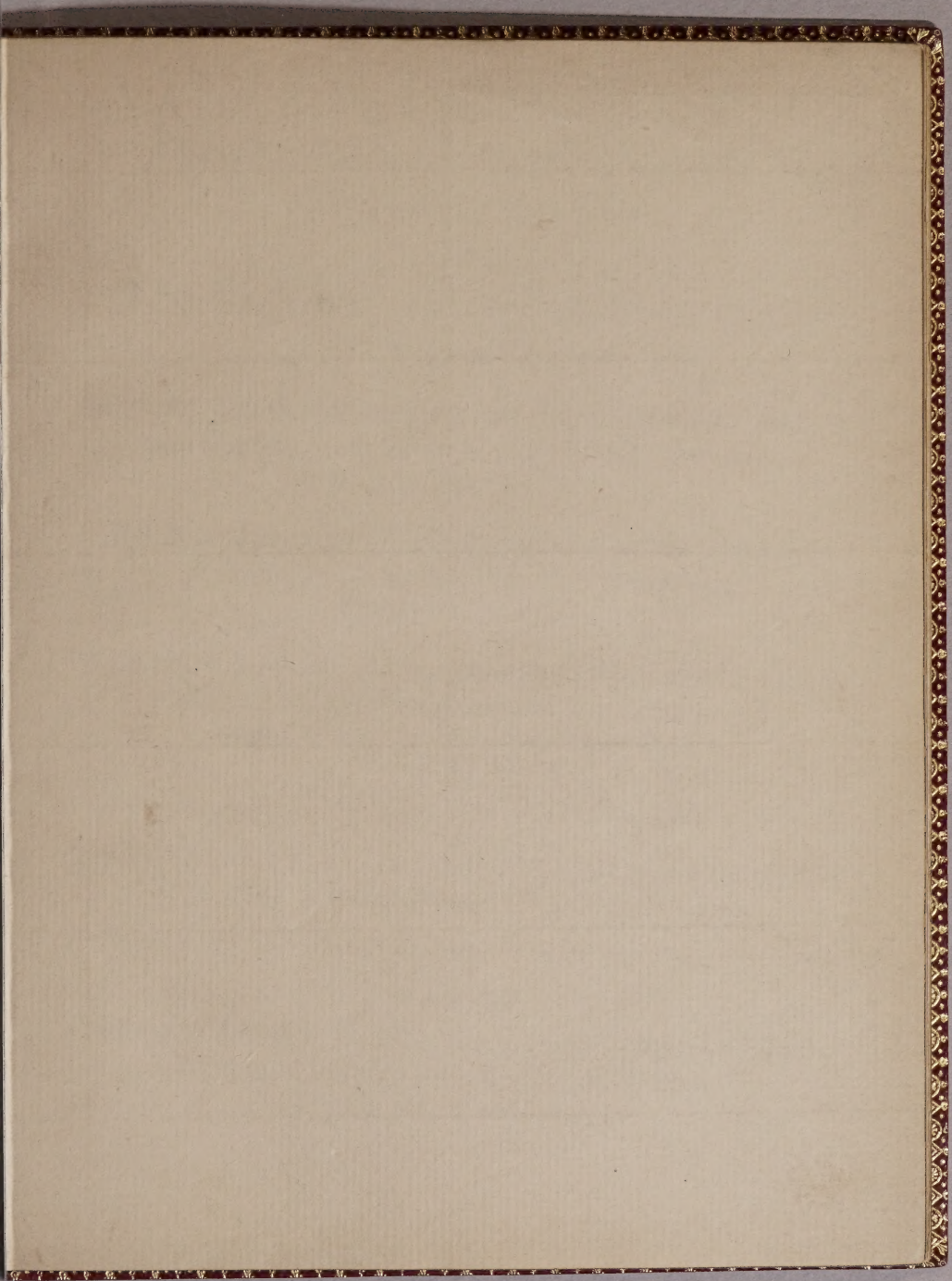






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436

# ADVERTISEMENTS

For the purpose of placing in

The following is a list of the

With a view to the betterment of the

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With a view to the betterment of the

The following is a list of the

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# ADVERTISEMENTS

For the unexperienced Planters of

*New-England, or any where.*

OR,

The Path-way to experience to erect a  
PLANTATION.

With the yearely proceedings of this Country in Fishing  
and Planting, since the yeare 1614. to the yeare 1630.  
and their present estate.

*Also how to prevent the greatest inconveniences, by their  
proceedings in Virginia, and other Plantations,  
by approved examples.*

With the Countries Armes, a description of the Coast,  
Harbours, Habitations, Land-markes, Latitude and  
Longitude: with the Map, allowed by our Royall  
King CHARLES.

---

By Captaine I O H N S M I T H, sometimes Governour of  
V I R G I N I A, and Admirall of N E W - E N G L A N D.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed by I O H N H A V I L A N D, and are to be sold by  
R O B E R T M I L B O V N E, at the Grey-hound  
in Pauls Church-yard. 1631.





PRICE

By Captain John Smith, sometimes Governor of  
Virginia and Admiral of New-England.

Printed by John HAYLAND, and are to be sold by  
Robert MILLIGAN, at the Gryphon  
in South Church-yard, 1631.  
LONDON



JOHN CARTER BROWN



To the Most Reverend Father in  
God, GEORGE Lord Arch-Bishop of  
CANTERBURY his Grace, Primate and  
Metropolitan of all ENGLAND:

AND

The Right Reverend Father in  
God, SAMUEL Lord Arch-Bishop of  
YORK his Grace, Primate and  
Metropolitan of ENGLAND.

**M**Y most Gracious Good  
Lords, I desire to leave te-  
stimony to the world, how  
highly I honour as well the  
Miter as the Lance: there-  
fore where my last Booke  
presented three most honourable Earles with  
a subject of Warre, and received from them  
favourable acceptance: the worke I now  
prosecute, concerning the Plantation of New-  
England, for the increase of Gods Church,  
A 2                      converting



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

converting Salvages, and enlarging the Kings  
Dominions, prostrates it selfe humbly to  
your Graces; who as you are in the name of  
Prelacy to this Kingdome, so you are to mee  
in goodnesse both Fathers and Protectors un-  
expectedly. God long preserve your Gracious  
lives, and continue favour

*Unto both your Graces most  
devoted servant,*

JOHN SMITH.



## To the Reader.

HONEST READER,



Apelles by the proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man: were hee now living, he might goe to schoole, for now are thousands can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Cities, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them. Malignancy, I expect from those, have lived 10. or 12. yeares in those actions, and returne as wise as they went, claiming time and experience for their tutor, that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse, yet will tell you of more than all the world, betwixt the Exchange, Pauls and Westminster: so it be newes, it matters not what, that will passe currant when truth must be stayed with an army of conceits that can make or marre any thing, and tell as well what all England is by seeing but Milford haven, as what Apelles was by the picture of his great toe. Now because examples give a quicker impression than arguments, I have writ this discourse to satisfie understanding, wisdom, and honesty, and not such as can doe nothing but finde fault with that they neither know nor can amend. So I rest

Your friend

John Smith.





## *The Sea Marke.*

Aloofe, aloofe, and come no neare,  
the dangers doe appeare;  
Which if my ruine had not beene  
you had not scene:

I onely lie upon this selfe  
to be a marke to all  
which on the same might fall,  
That none may perish but my selfe.

If in or outward you be bound,  
doe not forget to sound;  
Neglect of that was cause of this  
to steare amisse.

The Seas were calme, the wind was faire,  
that made me so secure,  
that now I must indure  
All weathers be they soule or faire.

The Winters cold, the Summers heat,  
alternatively beat  
Upon my bruised sides, that I use  
because too true

That no reliefe can ever come.  
But why should I despaire  
being promised so faire  
That there shall be a day of Dome.

The





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ADVER.



APJ 12





These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those  
That shew thy GRACE and Glory; brighter bee:  
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes  
Of Salvages, much Civilizd by thee  
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyre:  
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

If so, in Brasse, too soft Smiths Aids to beare,  
43 I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele our weare.

Thine, as thou art Virtues,  
John Dauides. Hicet:



Simon Pascheus sculpsit.

# NEW ENGLAND

The most remargueable parts  
by the high and mighty Prince  
nowe King of great Britaine





LAND

named.  
HARLES,

Edenborough

Cambridg

The Bafe

Leth

Harington Bay

Cape ELIZABETH

S<sup>t</sup> John Towne

Norwich

Hoghton Isls

Barty Isls

Willowby Isls

Pembrocks Bay

Gerrards Isls

Lowmonds

Guines Isls

Martins Ile

Guanelle Is

Aborden

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44  $\frac{1}{2}$

44

43  $\frac{1}{2}$

42  $\frac{1}{2}$

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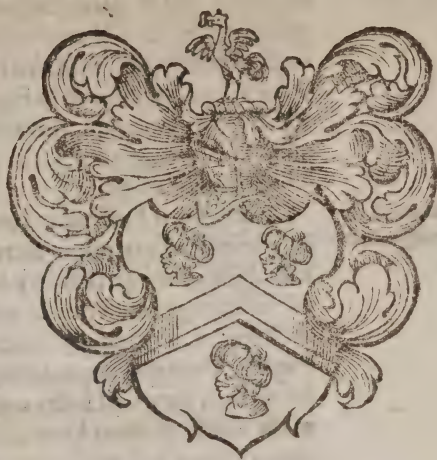
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London  
Printed by IamesBeue



# The Contents.

RPJCE



# ADVERTISEMENTS: OR, The Path-way to Experience to erect a Plantation.

## CHAP. I.

*What people they are that beginne this plantation: the bane  
of Virginia: strange misfrisions of wise men.*



He Warres in *Europe, Asia, and Africa*,  
taught me how to subdue the wilde Sal-  
vages in *Virginia* and *New-England*, in  
*America*; which now after many a  
stormy blast of ignorant contradictors,  
projectors, and undertakers, both they  
and I have beenc so tossed and tortured  
into so many extremities, as despaire was the next wee both  
expected,

B



## Advertisements for the *unexperienced,*

expected, till it pleased God now at last to stirre up some good mindes, that I hope will produce glory to God, honour to his Majesty, and profit to his Kingdomes, although all our Plantations have beene so foyled and abused, their best good willers have beene for the most part discouraged, and their good intents disgraced, as the generall History of them will at large truly relate you.

*No Brownist nor  
Separatist admit-  
ted.*

Pardon me if I offend in loving that I have cherished truly, by the losse of my prime fortunes, meanes, and youth: If it over-glad me to see Industry her selfe adventure now to make use of my aged endeavours, not by such (I hope) as rumour doth report, a many of discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists, and such factious Humorists, for no such they will suffer among them, if knowne, as many of the chiefe of them have assured mee, and the much conferences I have had with many of them, doth confidently perswade me to writethus much in their behalfe.

*What they are that  
beginne this  
Plantation.*

I meane not the Brownists of *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* at *New-Plimoth*, who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, have indured with a wonderfull patience, many losses and extremities; yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their powers increase their numbers: But of those which are gone within this eighteene moneths for *Cape Anne*, and the Bay of the *Massachusetts*: those which are their chiefe Undertakers are Gentlemen of good estate, some of 500, some a thousand pound land a yeere, all which they say they will sell for the advaucing this harmlesse and pious worke; men of good credit and well-beloved in their Country, not such as flye for debt, or any scandall at home, and are good Catholike Protestants according to the reformed Church of *England*, if not, it is well they are gone: the rest of them men of good meanes, or Arts, Occupations, and Qualities, much more fit for such a businesse, and better furnished of all necessities if they arrive well, than was ever any Plantation went out of *England*: I will not say but some of them may be more precise than needs, nor that they all be so good as they should be,  
for

for Christ had but twelve Apostles, and one was a traitor; and if there be no dissemblers among them, it is more than a wonder: therefore doe not condemne all for some; but however they have as good authority from his Majesty as they could desire, if they doe ill, the losse is but their owne; if well, a great glory and exceeding good to this Kingdome, to make good at last what all our former conclusions have disgraced.

Now they take not that course the *Virginia* company did The base of Virginia. for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in *London* who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits, every yeere trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearly as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than two hundred thousand pounds, and neere eight thousand mens lives.

It is true, in the yeere of our Lord 1622. they were about seven or eight thousand English indifferently well furnished with most necessaries, and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went thither not worth any thing, made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there, and all this proceeded by surviving those that died, nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tabacco, which at first they sold at such good rates, they regarded nothing but Tabacco; a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things: and the loving Salvages their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Peece, to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our owne Country-men, whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tabacco, and other businesse.

This superfluity caused my poore beginnings scorned, or The differences betwixt my beginning in Virginia and the proceedings of my successors. to be spoken of but with much derision, that never sent Ship from thence fraught, but onely some small quantities of Wainscot, Clap-board, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Sope-althes, Glasse, Cedar, Cypresse, Blacke Walnut, Knees for Ships, Ash for Pikes, Iron Ore none better, some Silver Ore, but so poore it was not regarded; better there may be, for I was no Mine-



ralist, some Sturghion, but it was too tart of the Vinegar, which was of my owne store, for little came from them which was good; and Wine of the Countries wilde Grapes, but it was too sowre, yet better than they sent us any: in two or three yeeres but one Hogshead of Claret. Onely spending my time to revenge my imprisonment upon the harmlesse innocent Salvages, who by my cruelty I forced to feed me with their contribution, and to send any offended my idle humour to *James* towne to punish at mine owne discretion; or keepe their Kings and subjects in chaines, and make them worke. Things cleane contrary to my Commission; whilst I and my company tooke our needlesse pleasures in discovering the Countries about us, building of Forts, and such unnecessary fooleries, where an Egge-shell (as they writ) had bene sufficient against such enemies; neglecting to answer the Merchants expectations with profit, feeding the Company onely with Letters and tastes of such commodities as we writ the Country would afford in time by industry, as Silke, Wines, Oyles of Olives, Rape, and Linsed, Raisons, Prunes, Flax, Hempe, and Iron, as for Tabacco, wee never then dreamt of it.

*A strange mistake  
in wise men.*

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities, they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure, with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities, making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Jewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tabacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkenen, with all their appurtenances, but materialls, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke: and so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, all stri-  
ving

ving to suppress and advance they knew not what: at last got a Commission in their owne names, promising the King custome within seven yeares, where we were free for one and twenty, appointing the Lord *De-la-ware* for Governour, with as many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdome, with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities, Charters, for Corporations, Universities, Free-schools, and Glebe-land, putting all those in practice before there were either people, students, or schollers to build or use them, or provision and victuall to feed them were then there: and to amend this, most of the Tradesmen in *London* that would adventure but twelve pounds ten shillings, had the furnishing the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such juggling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committees their associates, that all the trash they could get in *London* was sent us to *Virginia*, they being well payed for that was good. Much they blamed us for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse, nor did they all convert any of those we sent them to *England* for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea, that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits; by this you may avoid the like inconveniences, and take heed by those examples, you have not too many irons in the fire at once, neither such charge of Governours, nor such a multitude of Officers, neither more Masters, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and children, than you have men to worke, which idle charge you will finde very troublesome, and the effects dangerous, and one hundred good labourers better than a thousand such Gallants as were sent me, that could doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries, and all things so cleane contrary to the report in *England*, yet must I provide as well for them as for my selfe.



*Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.*

*The effect of flattery, the cause of misery.*

**T**HIS the Mariners and Saylers did ever all they could to conceale, who had alwayes both good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses, never caring how long they staid upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces, when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not halfe enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages. Now although there be Deere in the woods, Fish in the rivers, and Fowles in abundance in their seasons; yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beasts so wild, and wee so unskilfull to catch them, wee little troubled them nor they us: for all this our letters that still signified unto them the plaine truth, would not be beleaved, because they required such things as was most necessary: but their opinion was otherwayes, for they desired but to packe over so many as they could, saying necessity would make them get victuals for themselves, as for good labourers they were more usefull here in *England*: but they found it otherwayes; the charge was all one to send a workman as a roarer, whose clamors to appease, we had much ado to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve than worke; yet had it not bene for some few that were Gentlemen, both by birth, industry, and discretion, we could not possibly have subsisted.

*Take heed of factions bred in England.*

Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended so farre as death: but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of any thing, or preferment; and seeing the Merchants onely did what they listed with all they wrought for, I know not what punishment could be greater than that they indured; which miseries caused us alwaies to be in factions, the most part striving by

by any meanes to abandon the Country, and I with my party to prevent them and cause them stay. But indeed the cause of our factions was bred here in *England*, and grew to that maturity among themselves that spoyled all, as all the Kingdom and other Nations can too well testifie: Yet in the yeare 1622. there were about seven or eight thousand *English*, as hath beene said, so well trained, secure, and well furnished, as they reported and conceited. These simple Salvages their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning, and upon the 22. of March, so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction & confusion within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining: the which losse to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke as is said; then they broke, not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any, whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businessse to a few that lost not by it; so that his Majesty recalled their Commission, and by more just cause: then they perswaded King *James* to call in ours, which were the first beginners without our knowledge or consent, disposing of us and all our indeyours at their pleasures.

*The Massacre in Virginia.*

*How the company dissolved.*

CHAP. 3.

*A great comfort to new England, it is no Island: a strange plague.*

**N**otwithstanding since they have beene left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased their numbers to foure or five thousand, and neere as many cattell, with plenty of Goats, abundance of Swine, Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision. Now having glutted the world with their too much

*The abundance of victuals now in Virginia.*



## Advertisements for the unexper ienced,

much over-abounding Tabacco : Reason, or necessity, or both, will cause them, I hope, learne in time better to fortifie themselves, and make better use of the trials of their grosse commodities that I have propounded, and at the first sent over : and were it not a lamentable dishonour so goodly a Countrey after so much cost, losse, and trouble, should now in this estate not bee regarded and supplied. And to those of

*A great comfort for New-England by Virginia.*

*New-England* may it not be a great comfort to have so neare a neighbour of their owne Nation, that may furnish them with their spare cattell, swine, poultry, and other roots and fruits, much better than from *England*. But I feare the seed of envy, and the rust of covetousnesse doth grow too fast, for some would have all men advance *Virginia* to the ruine of *New-England*; and others the losse of *Virginia* to sustaine *New-England*, which God of his mercy forbid : for at first it was intended by that most memorable Judge Sir *John Popham*, then Lord chiefe Justice of *England*, and the Lords of his Majetties Privy Councel, with divers others, that two Colonies should be planted, as now they be, for the better strengthening each other against all occurrences; the which to performe, shall ever be in my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to increase and continue that mutuall love betwixt them for ever.

*The differences betwixt the beginning of Virginia, and them of Salem.*

By this you may perceive somewhat, what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributors, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for *New-England*; for they will neither beleeve nor use such officers, in that they are overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in *England*, where as few as I say was sent me to *Virginia*, but these were naught here and worse there.

*A necessary consideration.*

“ Now when these shall have laid the foundations, and provided meanes beforehand, they may entertain all the poore artificers and laborers in *England*, and their families which are burthensome to their Parishes and Countries where they live upon almes and benevolence for want of worke, which if they would but pay for their transportation, they should

“ should never be troubled with them more ; for there is vast  
 “ land enough for all the people in *England, Scotland, and*  
 “ *Ireland* : and it seemes God hath provided this Country *New-England is*  
 “ for our Nation, destroying the natives by the plague, it not *no Island but the*  
 “ touching one Englishman, though many traded and were *maine continent.*  
 “ conversant amongst them ; for they had three plagues in  
 “ three yeares successively neere two hundred miles along  
 “ the Sea coast, that in some places there scarce remained five  
 “ of a hundred, and as they report thus it began :

A fishing ship being cast away upon the coast, two of the  
 men escaped on shore ; one of them died, the other lived a-  
 mong the natives till he had learned their language : then he  
 perswaded them to become Christians, shewing them a Te-  
 stament, some parts thereof expounding so well as he could,  
 but they so much derided him, that he told them hee feared  
 his God would destroy them : whereat the King assembled  
 all his people about a hill, himselfe with the Christian stan-  
 ding on the top, demanded if his God had so many people *A strange plague*  
 and able to kill all those ? He answered yes, and surely would, *among the Sal-*  
 and bring in strangers to possesse their land : but so long they *vages.*  
 mocked him and his God, that not long after such a sick-  
 nesse came, that of five or six hundred about the *Massachusetts*  
 there remained but thirty, on whom their neighbours fell  
 and slew twenty eight : the two remaining fled the Country  
 till the *English* came, then they returned and surrendred their  
 Countrey and title to the *English* : if this be not true in every  
 particular, excuse me, I pray you, for I am not the Author :  
 but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague a-  
 mongst them ; for where I have scene two or three hundred,  
 within three yeares after remained scarce thirty, but what  
 disease it was the Salvages knew not till the *English* told them,  
 never having scene, nor heard of the like before.



## CHAP. 4.

*Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.*

*By what right wee  
may poffesse those  
Countries law-  
fully.*

**M**Any good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to poffesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages. Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in *Florida, Virginia, New-England,* and *Cannada,* is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure, and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and cultivate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and at such great rents and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good, or rather better than any wee poffesse, were it manured and used accordingly. If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper kettle and a few toys, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the *Massachusetts* have resigned theirs freely.

*True reasons for  
those plantations.*

Now the reasons for plantations are many; *Adam* and *Eve* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry: *Noah* and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for us now in those ages, than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers. Had the seed of *Abraham,* our

Saviour

*or the Path-way to erect a Plantation.*

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Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe, than we, even we our selves had at this present beene as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. The *Hebrewes, Lacedemonians, the Goths, Grecians, Romans*, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to enlarge their Territories, enrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their virtues, were no silvered idle golden Pharises, but industrious honest hearted Publicans, they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances, and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity, whose eternall actions fill our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* that first began plantations in this unknowne world of *America* till within this 140. yeares, whose everlasting actions before our eyes, will testifie our idlenesse and ingratitude to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion wee owe our God, our King, and Countrey, and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse, except wee be but made to marre what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe, having as much power and meanes as others: why should English men despaire and not doe so much as any? Was it vertue in those Heros to provide that doth maintaine us, and baseness in us to doe the like for others to come? Surely no; then seeing wee are not borne for our selves but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the

*Rare examples of  
the Spaniards,  
Portugals, and  
the Ancients.*



*Advertisements for the unexperienced,*

howre of our birth and minute of our death : seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all wee have to carry our soules to heaven or hell : Seeing honour is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life : and seeing by no meanes wee would be abated of the dignitie and glorie of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors, or at least not hinder, if not further them that would and doe their utmost and best endeavour.

CHAP. 5.

*My first voyage to new England, my returne and profit.*

*My first voyage to  
Norumbega new  
called New-  
England, 1614.*

*We got 1500.  
pounds in six  
moneths.*

*25000. Bevers  
sent to France.*

**T**O begin with the originals of the voyages to those coasts, I referre you to my generall history ; for *New-England* by the most of them was esteemed a most barren rocky desert : Notwithstanding at the sole charge of foure Merchants of London and my selfe, 1614. within eight weekes sayling I arrived at *Monahig* in an Ile in *America* in 43. degrees 29. minutes of Northerly latitude. Had the fishing for Whale proved as we expected, I had staid in the Country ; but we found the plots wee had, so false, and the seasons for fishing and trade by the unskilfulness of our Pylot so much mistaken, I was contented, having taken by hookes and lines with fiftene or eightene men at most, more than 60000. Cod in lesse than a moneth : whilst my selfe with eight others of them might best be spared, by an houre glasse of three moneths, ranging the coast in a small boat, got for trifles eleven hundred Bever skins beside Otters and Martins ; all amounting to the value of fiftene hundred pound, and arrived in *England* with all my men in health in six or seven moneths : But Northward the *French* returned this yeare to *France* five and twenty thousand bevers and good fures, whilst we were contending about Patents and Commissions, with such fearefull incredulity that more dazled our eyes than opened them. In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called it

it *New-England*: but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of *Nusconus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaquid*; till at my humble sute, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did changethe barbarous names of their principall Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their God-father; and in my opinion it should seeme an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without his leave.

My second voyage was to beginne a Plantation, and to doe what else I could, but by extreme tempests that bore neare all my Mafts by the boord, being more than two hundred leagues at Sea, was forced to returne to *Plimoth* with a Jury-Mast. The third was intercepted by English and French Pyrats, by my trecherous company that betrayed me to them, who ran away with my Ship and all that I had, such enemies the Sailers were to a Plantation, and the greatest losse being mine, did easily excuse themselves to the Merchants in *England*, that still provided to follow the fishing: much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westeringlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I went first would not adventure a groat; yet there went foure or five good Ships, but what by their dissention, and the Turkes men of warre that tooke the best of them in the Straits, they scarce saved themselves this yeare. At my returne from *France* I did my best to have united them, but that had beene more than a worke for *Hercules*, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse.

*My second and  
third voyage.*  
1615.  
1616.

CHAP. 6.

*A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Land-marks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.*

**T**His Country wee now speake of, lyeth betwixt 41. and 44; the very meane for heat and cold betwixt the Equinoctiall and the North Pole, in which I have sounded about five and twenty very good Harbors; in many  
C 3 whereof

*A description of  
the Country.*



whereof is Ancorage for five hundred good ships of any burthen, in some of them for a thousand, and more than three hundred Iles overgrowne with good timber, or divers sorts of other woods; in most of them (in their seasons) plenty of wilde fruits, Fish, and Fowle, and pure springs of most excellent water pleasantly distilling from their rockie foundations. The principall habitations I was at North-ward, was *Pennobscot*, who are in warres with the *Terentines*, their next Northerly neighbours. Southerly up the Rivers, and along the Coast, wee found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconet*, *Sagadahock*, *Satquin*, *Aumugheawgen*, and *Kenabeca*: to those belong the Countries and people of *Segotago*, *Pauhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Tanghtanakagnet*, *Wabiggamus*, *Nassague*, *Masberesqueck*, *Wawrigwick*, *Mesboquen*, *Waccogo*, *Pasbaranack*, &c. To those are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticix*, *Passataquak*, *Angawoam* and *Nacmkeck*, all these for any thing I could perceive differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be *Sagamos*, and Lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of *Pennobscot* the chiefe and greatest amongst them. The next is *Mattahunt*, *Totant*, *Massachusetts*, *Paconepick*, then *Cape Cod*, by which is *Pawmet*, the Iles *Nawset* and *Capawuck*, neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues, and very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41.

Now beyond *Cape Cod*, the land extendeth it selfe Southward to *Virginia*, *Florida*, the *West-Indies*, the *Amazons*, and *Brasile*, to the straits of *Magellanus*, two and fifty degrees Southward beyond the Line; all those great Countries, differing as they are in distance North or South from the Equinoctiall, in temper, heat, cold, Woods, Fruits, Fishes, Beasts, Birds, the increase and decrease of the night and day, to six moneths day and six moneths night. Some say, many of those Nations are so brute they have no Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived, for my part I never saw nor heard of any Nation in the world which had not Religion, Deare,  
Bowes,

Under the Equinoctiall, twelve houres day, and twelve night.

Bowes, and Arrowes. Those in *New-England*, I take it, beleeve much alike as those in *Virginia*, of many divine Powers, yet of one above all the rest; as the Southerly *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa*, and that we now inhabit, *Okce*, but all their Kings *Werowances*. The *Massachusetts* call their great God *Kichian*, and their Kings *Sachemes*; and that we suppose their Devill, they call *Habumouk*. The *Pennobscots*, their God, *Tantum*, their Kings, *Sagamos*. About those Countries are abundance of severall Nations and languages, but much alike in their simple curiosities, living and workmanship, except the wilde estate of their chiefe Kings, &c.

*Their Religion.*

Of whose particular miserable magnificence, yet most happy in this, that they never trouble themselves with such variety of Apparell, Drinckes, Viands, Sawfes, Perfumes, Preservatives, and nicities as we; yet live as long, and much more healthfull and hardy; also the deities of their chiefe Gods, Priests, Conjurers, Religion, Temples, Triumphs, Physicke, and Chirurgerie, their births, educations, duty of their women, exercise for their men; how they make all their Instruments and Engines to cut downe Trees, make their Cloaths, Boats, Lines, Nets, Fish-hooks, Weres, and Traps, Mats, Houses, Pots, Platters, Morters, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Swords, Clubs, Jewels, and Hatchets. Their severall sorts of Woods, Serpents, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Roots, Berries, Fruits, Stones, and Clay. Their best trade, what is most fit to trade with them. With the particulars of the charge of a fishing voyage, and all the necessaries belonging to it, their best countries to vent it for their best returns; also the particulars for every private man or family that goeth to plant, and the best seasons to goe or returne thence; with the particular description of the Salvages, Habitations, Harbours, and Land-markes, their Latitude, Longitude, or severall distance, with their old names and the new by the Map augmented. Lastly, the power of their Kings, obedience of their subjects, Lawes, executions, planting their Fields, Huntings, Fishings, the manner of their warres and treacheries yet knowne; and in generall, their lives and conversation, and how to bridle their brute, barbarous,



rous, and salvage dispositions : of all these particulars you may reade at large in the generall History of *Virginia, New-England*, and the *Summer Isles*, with many more such strange actions and accidents, that to an ordinary capacity might rather seeme miracles than wonders possibly to bee effected, which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silke, which with a good needle might be flourished into a far larger worke, yet the Images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses.

## CHAP. 7.

*New Englands yearely trials, the planting new Plimoth, surprisals prevented, their wonderfull industry and fishing.*

1617.  
Eight ships 10 fish.

FOR all those differences there went eight tall ships before I arived in *England*, from *France*, so that I spent that yeare in the West Country, to perswade the Cities, Townes, and Gentry for a Plantation, which the Merchants very little liked, because they would have the coast free only for themselves, and the Gentlemen were doubtfull of their true accounts ; oft and much it was so disputed, that at last they promised me the next yeere twenty saile well furnished, made me Admirall of the Country for my life under their hands, and the Colonels Seale for *New-England* ; and in renewing their Letters Patents, to be a Patentee for my paines, yet nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected for all this aire.

1618.  
1619.  
1620.  
Eight and thirty  
men in six weeks  
tooke two thousand  
one hundred  
pounds worth of  
fish.

In those yeares many Ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six moneths, others in five, but one of two hundred tunne in six weekes, with eight and thirty men and boyes had her freight, which shee sold at the first penny for one and twenty hundred pounds, besides her Furre. Six or seven more went out of the West, and some Sailers that had but a single share, had twenty pounds, and at home againe in seven moneths, which was more than such a one should have got in twenty moneths, had he gone for wages any where : yet for all this, in all this time, though I had divulged to my great labour,

labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oyster-shells, so fresh were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Isles in their memories.

At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are tearmed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of *Layden* and *Amsterdam*, to save charges, would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie, till time had taught them to see their owne error; for such humorists will never beleieve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod.

They were supplied with a small Ship with seven and thirty passengers, who found all them were left after they were scatted, well, all but six that died, for all their poverties: in this ship they returned the value of five hundred pounds, which was taken by a French-man upon the coast of *England*.

1621.

There is gone from the West to fish five and thirty saile, two from *London* with sixty passengers for them at *New-Plimoth*, and all made good voyages. Now you are to understand, the seven and thirty passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of *England*, came so ill provided, they onely relied upon that poore company they found, that had lived two yeares by their naked industry, and what the Country naturally afforded; it is true, at first there hath beene taken a thousand Bayes at a draught, and more than twelve hogsh-heads of Herrings in a night, of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessities for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants.

1622.

Seven and thirty saile to fish.

In Iuly, a many of stragling forlorne Englishmen, whose wants they releevd, though wanted themselves; the which to requite, destroyed their Corne and Fruits, and would have done the like to them, and have surprised what they had; the salvages also intended the like, but wisely they slew the salvage

D

Captaines,



Captaines, and revenged those injuries upon the fugitive English, that would have done the like to them.

CHAP. 8.  
*Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate, they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.*

1623.

**A**T *New-Plimoth*, having planted there Fields and Gardens, such an extraordinary drought insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies all overcast with blacke clouds, and the next morning, such a pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived; not long after came two Ships to supply them, with all their Passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered; for themselves, for all their wants, there was not one sicke person amongst them: the greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities. This yeare went from *England*, onely to fish, five and forty saile, and have all made a better voyage than ever.

*Five and forty saile  
10 fish.*

1624.

In this Plantation there is about an hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares: yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth* for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in wandring

wandering up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks, and swamps, forty of them died, and threescore were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth*, where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed, whose misery and variable opinions, for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them. These disasters, losses, and uncertainties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in *England*, who began to repent, and rather lose all, than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds, accounting my bookes and their relations as old Almanacks. But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers pay them for nine yeares two hundred pounds yearly without any other account; where more than six hundred Adventurers for *Virginia*, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not six pence. Since they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take, <sup>They make store of good salt.</sup> and have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and fourescore tun, living so well they desire nothing but more company, and what ever they take, retorne commodities to the value.

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene, and some the same yeare returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleieving me, and excuse their owne misprisions, some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designs so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it. Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences, for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods name bee there praised by my Country-men, I have my desire; and the benefit of this salt and fish, for breeding Mariners and building



*An incredible rich  
mine.*

ships, will make so many fit men to raise a Common-wealth, if but managed, as my generall history will shew you; it might well by this have beene as profitable as the best Mine the King of *Spaine* hath in his West Indies.

CHAP. 9.

*Notes worth observation: miserableness no good husbandry.*

*Notes worth ob-  
servation.*

**N**OW if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe, how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercy both to them and me. Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions, that the wiser sort often gave mee for lost, alwayes in mutinies, wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift, all such a stormy winter night when their ships were split, more than an hundred thousand pound lost, wee had taken at sea, and most of them drown'd upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat, &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths lived in the fields, yet to have lived neere 37. yeares in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine; by which, many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them went first with me to *Virginia*, and see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: Though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publicly to acknowledge it and give God thanks, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me.

to.

to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner.

Had my designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have done that knew no such matter; though few doe conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new invention to passe to the South sea, or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Charaques, or letters of mart, to rob some poore Merchant or honest fisher men; what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first imployed. But in those noble indevours now how few, unlesse it bee to begge them as Monopolies, and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods, as the 217. the 218. and the 219. pages in the generall history will shew. But only those noble Gentlemen and their associates, for whose better encouragements I have recollectet those experienced memorandums, as an Apologie against all calumniating detractors, as well for my selfe as them.

*Goods ill gotten  
ill spent.*

Now since they called Brownists went, some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired, many other directers they had as wise as themselves, but that was best that liked their owne conceits; for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiours: in this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husbandry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies, who undertaking in small handfals to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing, to the great disparagement of the generall businesse, therefore let them take heed that doe follow their example.

*Miserablenesse  
no good husbandry.*



*The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, encouragements for servants.*

1625.  
1626.  
1627.  
1628.

*The effect of the  
last great Patent.*

*A Proclamation for  
New-England.*

W Ho would not thinke that all those certainties should not have made both me and this Country have prospered well by this? but it fell out otherwayes, for by the instigation of some, whose policy had long watched their opportunity by the assurance of those profitable returnes, procured new Letters Patents from King *James*, drawing in many Noblemen and others to the number of twenty, for Patentees, dividing my map and that tract of land from the North Sea to the South Sea, East and West, which is supposed by most Cosinographers at least more than two thousand miles; and from 41. degrees to 48. of Northerly latitude about 560. miles; the bounds *Virginia* to the South, the South Sea to the West, *Canada* to the North, and the maine Ocean to the East; all this they divided in twenty parts, for which they cast lots, but no lot for me but *Smiths* Iles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood, but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars. Those Patentees procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping, neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast overboard, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Mannor; some of which for some of them I beleeve will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare. Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe, especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first yeare, as they have oft told me, and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would

goe

goe at all. So for feare to make a contempt against the Proclamation it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose, nor would they doe any thing but left it to it selfe.

Thus it lay againe in a manner vast, till those noble Gentlemen thus voluntarily undertooke it, whom I intreat to *Memorandums for Masters,* take this as a memorandum of my love, to make your plantations so neere and great as you can; for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable; nor stand too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countreies, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines, which commonly eat out all poore mens labours, nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, bee it by the halves or otherwayes: And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good: In so doing, a servant that will labour, within foure or five yeares *Incentivements for servants.* may live as well there as his master did here: for where there is so much land lie waste, it were a madnesse in a man at the first to buy, or hire, or pay any thing more than an acknowledgement to whom it shall be due; and hee is double mad that will leave his friends, meanes, and freedome in *England*, to be worse there than here. Therefore let all men have as much freedome in reason as may be, and true dealing, for it is the greatest comfort you can give them, where the very name of servitude will breed much ill blood, and become odious to God and man; but mildly temper correction with mercy, for I know well you will have occasion enough to use both; and in thus doing, doubtlesse God will blesse you, and quickly triple and multiply your numbers, the which to my utmost I will doe my best indeavour.



## CHAP. II.

*The planting Baffable or Salem and Charlton, a description of the Massachusetts.*

1629.  
*The planting  
Salem.*

**I**N all those plantations, yea, of those that have done least, yet the most will say, we were the first; and so every next supply, still the next beginner: But seeing history is the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happiness of the living; because I have more plainly discovered, and described, and discoursed of those Countries than any as yet I know, I am the bolder to continue the story, and doe all men right so neere as I can in those new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets.

*Their provisions  
for Salem.*

In the yeare 1629. about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children, people professing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes and quality: also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts; 41. goats, some conies, with all provision for household and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corsets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man. They are seated about 42. degrees and 38. minutes, at a place called by the natives *Naemkecke*, by our Royall King *Charles*, *Baffable*; but now by the planters, *Salem*; where they arrived for most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation.

*The planting Sa-  
lem and Charlton.*

At this place they found some reasonable good provision and houses built by some few of *Dorchester*, with whom they are joyned in society with two hundred men, an hundred and fifty more they have sent to the *Massachusetts*, which they call *Charlton*, or *Charles Towne*: I tooke the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it *Charles river*, after the name of our Royall King *Charles*; but they find that faire Channell to divide it selfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant Ilands within that excellent Bay, where

where the land is of divers and sundry sorts, in some places very blacke and fat, in others good clay, sand and gravell, the superficies neither too flat in plaines, nor too high in hills. In the Iles you may keepe your hogs, horse, cattell, conies or poultry, and secure for little or nothing, and to command when you list, onely having a care of provision for some extraordinary cold winter. In those Iles, as in the maine, you may make your nurseries for fruits and plants where you put no cattell; in the maine you may shape your Orchards, Vineyards, Pastures, Gardens, Walkes, Parkes, and Corne fields out of the whole peece as you please into such plots, one adjoyning to another, leaving every of them invironed with two, three, foure, or six, or so many rowes of well growne trees as you will, ready growne to your hands, to defend them from ill weather, which in a champion you could not in many ages; and this at first you may doe with as much facility, as carelessly or ignorantly cut downe all before you, and then after better consideration make ditches, pales, plant young trees with an excessive charge and labour, seeing you may have so many great and small growing trees for your maine posts, to fix hedges, palisados, houses, rales, or what you will; which order in *Virginia* hath not beene so well observed as it might: where all the woods for many an hundred mile for the most part grow streight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees, upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater, neither grow they so thicke together by the halfe, and much good ground betweene them without shrubs, and the best is ever knowne by the greatnesse of the trees and the vesture it beareth. Now in *New-England* the trees are commonly lower, but much thicker and firmer wood, and more proper for shipping, of which I will speake a little, being the chiefe engine wee are to use in this worke, and the rather for that within a square of twenty leagues, you may have all, or most of the chiefe materials belonging to them, were they wrought to their perfection as in other places.

A description of  
the *Ma-Jacobsess*  
Bay.



*The master-peece  
of workmanship.*

## *Advertisements for the unexperienced,*

Of all fabricks a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sayling, trimming, defending, and mooring, with such a number of severall termes and names in continuall motion, not understood of any landman, as none would thinke of, but some few that know them; for whose better instruction I writ my Sea-Grammar, a booke most necessary for those plantations, because there is scarce any thing belonging to a ship, but the Sea-terms, charge and duty of every officer is plainly exprest, and also any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskillfull Carpenter or Sailer to build Boats and Barks sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this businesse hee may easily mistake or forget. But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all the most necessary workmen in the world. The first rule or modell thereof being directed by God himselfe to Noah for his Arke, which he never did to any other building but his Temple, which is tossed and turned up and downe the world with the like dangers, miseries, and extremities as a ship, sometimes tasting the fury of the foure Elements, as well as shee, by unlimited tyrants in their cruelty for tortures, that it is hard to conceive whether those inhumanes exceed the beasts of the Forrest, the birds of the Aire, the fishes of the Sea, either in numbers, greatnesse, swiftnesse, fiercenesse or cruelty; whose actions and varieties, with such memorable observations as I have collected, you shall finde with admiration in my history of the Sea, if God be pleased I live to finish it.

### CHAP. 12.

*Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods, for any thing their healths.*

*Extraordinary  
meanes for building.*

**F**Or the building houses, townes, and fortresses, where shall a man finde the like conveniency, as stones of most sorts, as well lime stone, if I be not much deceived, as Iron stone, smooth stone, blew slate for covering houses, and great rockes we supposed Marble, so that one place is called the

the marble harbour : There is grasse plenty, though very long and thicke stalked, which being neither mowne nor eaten, is very ranke, yet all their cattell like and prosper well therewith, but indeed it is weeds, herbs, and grasse growing together, which although they be good and sweet in the Summer, they will deceive your cattell in winter ; therefore be carefull in the Spring to mow the swamps, and the low Islands of *Anguan*, where you may have harsh sheare-grasse enough to make hay of, till you can cleare ground to make pasture, which will beare as good grasse as can grow any where, as now it doth in *Virginia* ; and unlesse you make this provision, if there come an extraordinary winter, you will lose many of them & hazard the rest, especially if you bring them in the latter end of Summer, or before the grasse bee growne in the Spring, comming weake from Sea. All things they plant prosper exceedingly : but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase.

*carefull for cattell*

The best way wee found in *Virginia* to spoile the woods, was first to cut a notch in the barke a hand broad round about the tree, which pill off and the tree will sprout no more, and all the small boughs in a yeare or two will decay, the greatest branches in the root they spoile with fire, but you with more ease may cut them from the body and they will quickly rot : betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe much defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne, where that in the plaines, where the trees by time they have consumed, is subject to both ; and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other : in *Virginia* they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for most part is so fertile : but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two, which cometh in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.

*How to spoile the woods for pasture and corne.*

Some infirmed bodies, or tender educats, complaine of the piercing cold, especially in January and February, yet the

*A silly complaint of cold, the reason and remedy.*



*French in Canada, the Russians, Swethlanders, Polanders, Germans, and our neighbour Hollanders, are much colder and farre more Northward, for all that, rich Countreyes and live well. Now they have wood enough if they will but cut it, at their doories to make fires, and traine oyle with the splinters of the roots of firre trees for candles, where in Holland they have little or none to build ships, houses, or any thing but what they fetch from forren Countries, yet they dwell but in the latitude of Yorkshire, and New-England is in the height of the North cape of Spaine, which is 10. degrees, 200. leagues, or 600. miles nearer the Sunne than wee, where upon the mountaines of Biskj I have felt as much cold, frost, and snow as in England, and of this I am sure, a good part of the best Countries and kingdomes of the world, both Northward and Southward of the line, lie in the same parallels of Virginia and New-England, as at large you may finde in the 201. page of the generall history.*

*Provisors for passengers and saylers at sea.*

Thus you may see how prosperously thus farre they have proceeded, in which course by Gods grace they may continue; but great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much legerdemaine, therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea: in this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die, for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger, as I have sene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges.

#### CHAP. 13.

*Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.*

1630.  
*Their present estate.*

W Ho would not thinke but that all those trials had beene sufficient to lay a foundation for a plantation, but we see many men many mindes, and still new Lords, new lawes: for those 350. men with all their cattell

tell that ſo well arived and promiſed ſo much, not being of one body, but ſeverall mens ſervants, few could command and fewer obey, lived merrily of that they had, neither planting or building any thing to any purpoſe, but one faire houſe for the Governour, till all was ſpent and the winter approached; then they grew into many diſeaſes, and as many inconveniences, depending only of a ſupply from *England*, which expected Houſes, Gardens, and Corne fields ready planted by them for their entertainment.

It is true, that Maſter *Iohn Wynthrop*, their now Governour, a worthy Gentleman both in eſtate and eſteeme, went ſo well provided (for ſix or ſeven hundred people went with him) as could be deviſed, but at Sea, ſuch an extraordinary ſtormie encountred his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were ſo toſſed and bruſed, threeſcore and ten died, many of their people fell ſicke, and in this perplexed eſtate, after ten weekes, they arrived in *New-England* at ſeverall times, where they found threeſcore of their people dead, the reſt ſicke, nothing done, but all complaining, and all things ſo contrary to their expectation, that now every monſtrous humor began to ſhew it ſelfe. And to ſecond this, neare as many more came after them, but ſo ill provided, with ſuch multitudes of women and children, as redoubled their neceſſities.

This ſmall triall of their patience, cauſed among them no ſmall conſeſion, and put the Governour and his Councell to their utmoſt wits; ſome could not endure the name of a Biſhop, others not the ſight of a Croſſe nor Surpleſſe, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This abſolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but ſuch as themſelves) reprobates and caſt-awaies, now make more haſte to returne to *Babel*, as they tearmed *England*, than ſtay to enjoy the land they called *Canaan*; ſomewhat they muſt ſay to excuſe themſelves.

The fruits of  
counterſeiſes.

Thoſe he found Browniſts, hee let goe for *New-Plimoth*, who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want, ſome two hundred of the reſt he was content to returne for *England*, whoſe clamors are as variable as their



humours and Auditors; some say they could see no timber of two foot diameter, some the Country is all Woods, others they drunke all the Springs and Ponds dry, yet like to famish for want of fish water; some of the danger of the rattell Snake; and that others sold their provisions at what rates they pleased to them that wanted, and so returned to *England* great gairers out of others miseries; yet all that returned are not of those humors.

Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimatèd, neither repents him of his enterprise for all those mistakes, but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so relievèd those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him, and more than 1600. English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell, as for Corne they are very ignorant: If upon the coast of *America*, they doe not before the end of this October (for toies) furnish themselves with two or three thousand bushels of Indian Corne, which is better than ours, and in a short time cause the Salvages to doe them as good service as their owne men, as I did in *Virginia*, and yet neither use cruelty nor tyranny amongst them; a consequence well worth putting in practice: and till it be effected, they will hardly doe well. I know ignorance will say it is impossible, but this impossible taske, ever since the massacre in *Virginia*, I have beene a suter to have undertaken, but with 150. men, to have got Corne, fortified the Country, and discovered them more land than they all yet know or have demonstrated: but the Merchants common answer was, necessity in time would force the Planters doe it themselves, and rather thus husbandly to lose ten sheepe, than be at the charge of a halfe penny worth of Tarre.

*Note well.*

Who is it that knowes not what a small handfull of Spaniards in the West Indies, subdued millions of the inhabitants, so depopulating those Countries they conquered, that they are glad to buy *Negroes* in *Affrica* at a great rate, in Countries farre remote from them, which although they bee asidle and as devilish people as any in the world, yet they cause them quickly to bee their best servants; notwithstanding,

ding, there is for every foure or five naturall Spaniards, two or three hundred Indians and Negros, and in *Virginia* and *New-England* more English than Salvages, that can assemble themselves to assault or hurt them, and it is much better to helpe to plant a country than unplant it and then replant it: but there Indians were in such multitudes, the Spaniards had no other remedy; and ours such a few, and so disperfed, it were nothing in a short time to bring them to labour and obedience.

It is strange to me, that English men should not doe as much as any, but upon every sleight affront, in stead to amend it, we make it worse; notwithstanding the worst of all those rumours, the better sort there are constant in their resolutions, and so are the most of their best friends here; and making provision to supply them, many conceit they make a dearth here, which is nothing so; for they would spend more here than they transport thither. One Ship this Summer with twenty cattell, and forty or fifty passengers, arived all well, and the Ship at home againe in nine weekes: another for all this exclamation of want, is returned with 10000. Corfish, and fourescore Kegs of Sturgion, which they did take and save when the season was neare past, and in the very heat of Summer, yet as good as can be. Since another ship is gone from *Bristow*, and many more a providing to follow them withall speed.

Thus you may plainly see for all these rumours, they are in no such distresse as is supposed: as for their mischances, misprisions, or what accidents may befall them, I hope none is so malicious, as attribute the fault to the Country nor mee; yet if some blame us not both, it were more than a wonder; for I am not ignorant that ignorance and too curious spectators, make it a great part of their profession to censure (however) any mans actions, who having lost the path to vertue, will make most excellent shifts to mount up any way; such incomparable connivency is in the Devils most punctuall cheaters, they will hazard a joint, but where God hath his Church they wil have a Chapel; a mischief so hard to be prevented, that I have thus plainly adventured to shew my affection,



tion, through the weaknesse of my abilitie, you may easily know them by their absolutenesse in opinions, holding experience but the mother of fooles, which indeed is the very ground of reason, and he that contemnes her in those actions, may finde occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdom he hath to correct his owne folly, that thinkes to finde amongst those salvages such Churches, Palaces, Monuments, and Buildings as are in *England*.

## CHAP. 14.

*Ecclesiastical government in Virginia, authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at Bastable now called Salem.*

*Ecclesiastical  
government in  
Virginia.*

**N**OW because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in *Virginia*, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings.

When I went first to *Virginia*, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees, in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new; this was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth, so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died, but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies; we continued two or three yeares after till more Preachers

came:

came, and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines were consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness.

Notwithstanding, out of the reliicks of our miseries, time and experience had brought that Country to a great happinesse, *their estates at this day.* had they not so much deared on their Tabacco, on whose furnish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides, yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120. pounds a yeare, besides their owne mundall industry, but *James* towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councell here, allowed by the Councell there, and confirmed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, An. 1605. to master *Richard Hacluit* Prebend of *Westminster*, who by his authority sent master *Robert Hunt*, an honest, religious, and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.

Now in *New-England* they have all our examples to teach *their order of teaching in Salem.* them how to beware, and choice men, wee most ignorant in all things, or little better, therefore preface not the event of all such actions by our defeilements: For they write, they doubt not ere long to be able to defend themselves against any indifferant enemy; in the interim, they have Preachers erected among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day observed, the common Prayer (as I understand) and Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good orders to bring those people with whom they have to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the Country; which done, in time from both those Plantations may grow a good addition to the Church of *England*; but *Rome* was not built in one day, whose beginnings was once as unhopessfull as theirs, and to make them as eminent shall be my humble and hearty prayers.



*The miserable effects of faction in Religion.*

But as yet it is not well understood of any authority they have sought for the government & tranquillity of the Church, which doth cause those suspicions of factions in Religion, wherein although I be no Divine, yet I hope without offence I may speake my opinion as well in this as I have done in the rest. He that will but truly consider the greatnesse of the Turkes Empire and power here in Christendome, shall finde the naturall Turkes are generally of one religion, and the Christians in so many divisions and opinions, that they are among themselves worse enemies than the Turkes, whose dis-joyntednesse hath given him that opportunity to command so many hundred thousand of Christians as he doth, where had they beene constant to one God, one Christ, and one Church, Christians might have beene more able to have commanded as many Turkes, as now the Turkes doe poore miserable Christians. Let this example remember you to beware of faction in that nature; for my owne part, I have scene many of you here in *London* goe to Church as orderly as any.

*The necessity of order and authority.*

Therefore I doubt not but you will seeke to the prime authority of the Church of *England*, for such an orderly authority as in most mens opinions is fit for you both to intreat for and to have, which I thinke will not be denied; and you have good reason, seeing you have such liberty to transport so many of his Majesties subjects, with all sorts of cartell, armes, and provision as you please, and can provide meanes to accomplish, nor can you have any certaine reliefe, nor long subsist without more supplies from *England*. Besides, this might prevent many inconveniences may insue, and would clearely take away all those idle and malicious rumours, and occasion you many good and great friends and assistance you yet dreame not of; for you know better than I can tell, that the maintainers of good Orders and Lawes is the best preservation next God of a Kingdome: but when they are stuffed with hypocrisie and corruption, that state is not doubtfull but lamentable in a well settled Common-wealth, much more in such as yours, which is but a beginning, for as the Lawes corrupt, the state consumes.

CHAP. 15.

*The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene Elizabeths Sea Captaines.*

**I**N regard of all that is past, it is better of those slow proceedings than lose all, and better to amend late than never; I know how hatefull it is to envy, pride, flattery, and greatnesse to be advised, but I hope my true meaning wise men will excuse, for making my opinion plaine; I have bene so often and by so many honest men intreated for the rest, the more they mislike it, the better I like it my selfe.

*The effect of a Cittadell, or the true modell of a Plantation.*

Concerning this point of a Cittadell, it is not the least, though the last remembred: therefore seeing you have such good meanes and power of your owne I never had, with the best convenient speed may be erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell, which in a manner is all one; towards the building, provision, and maintenance thereof, every man for every acre he doth cultivate to pay foure pence yearely, and some small matter out of every hundred of fish taken or used within five or ten miles, or as you please about it, it being the Center as a Fortresse for ever belonging to the State, and when the charge shall be defrayed to the chiefe undertaker, in reason, let him be Governour for his life: the overplus to goe forward to the erecting another in like manner in a most convenient place, and so one after another, as your abilities can accomplish, by benevolences, forfeitures, fines, and impositions, as reason and the necessitie of the common good requireth; all men holding their lands on those manners as they doe of Churches, Universities, and Hospitals, but all depending upon one principall, and this would avoid all faction among the Superiours, extremities from the comminalty, & none would repine at such payments, when they shall see it justly employed for their owne defence and security; as for corruption in so small a Government, you may quickly perceive, and punish it accordingly.



*The condition of  
trade and freedom.*

Now as his Majesty hath made you custome-free for seven yeares, have a care that all your Country men shall come to trade with you, be not troubled with Pilatage, Boyage, Anchorage, Wharfage, Custome, or any such tricks as hath beene lately used in most of new Plantations, where they would be Kings before their folly; to the discouragement of many, and a scorn to them of understanding, for Dutch, French, Biskin, or any will as yet use freely the Coast without controule, and why not English as well as they: Therefore use all commers with that respect, courtesie, and liberty is fitting, which in a short time will much increase your trade and shipping to fetch it from you, for as yet it were not good to adventure any more abroad with factors till you bee better provided; now there is nothing more inricheth a Common-wealth than much trade, nor no meanes better to increase than small custome, as *Holland, Genua, Ligorne*, and divers other places can well tell you, and doth most beggar those places where they take most custome, as *Turkie, the Archipelagan Iles, Cicilia, the Spanish ports*, but that their officers will connive to inrich themselves, though undoe the State.

In this your infancy, imagine you have many eyes attending your actions, some for one end, and some onely to finde fault; neglect therefore no opportunity, to informe his Majesty truly your orderly proceedings, which if it be to his liking, and contrary to the common rumour here in *England*, doubtlesse his Majesty will continue you custome free, till you have recovered your selves, and are able to subsist; for till such time, to take any custome from a Plantation, is not the way to make them prosper, nor is it likely those Patentees shall accomplish any thing; that will neither maintaine them nor defend them, but with Countenances, Councils, and advice, which any reasonable man there may better advise himselfe, than one thousand of them here who were never there; nor will any man, that hath any wit, throw himselfe into such a kinde of subjection, especially at his owne cost and charges; but it is too oft scene that sometimes one is enough to deceive one hundred, but two hundred not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived.

I speake not this to discourage any with vaine feares, but could *The Spaniards* with every English man to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; *glory.* Why should the brave Spanish Souldiers brag. The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King; who within these few hundred of yeares, was one of the least of most of his neighbours; but to animate us to doe the like for ours, who is no way his inferior; and truly there is no pleasure comparable to a generous spirit; as good imploiment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens, and Infidels, to see daily new Countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems, releve the oppressed, comfort his friends, passe miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country: it is true, it is a happy thing to be borne to strength, wealth, and honour, but that which is got by prowesse and magnanimity is the truest lustre; and those can the best distinguish content, that have escaped most honourable dangers, as if out of every extremity he found himselfe now borne to a new life to learne how to amend and maintaine his age.

Those harsh conclusions have so oft plundered me in those perplexed actions, that if I could not freely expresse my selfe to them doth second them, I should thinke my selfe guilty of a most damnable crime worse than ingratitude; however some overweining capricious conceits, may attribute it to vaine-glory, ambition, or what other idle Epithete such pleased to bestow on me: But such trash I so much scorne, that I presume further to advise those, lesse advised than my selfe, that as your fish and trade increaseth, so let your forts and exercise of armes, drilling your men at your most convenient times, to ranke, file, march, skirmish, and retire, in file, manaples, battalia, or ambuskados, which service there is most proper; also how to assault and defend your forts, and be not sparing of a little extraordinary shot and powder to make them mark-men, especially your Gentlemen, and those you finde most capable, for shot must be your best weapon, yet all this will not doe unlesse you have at least 100. or as many as you can, of expert, blouded, approved good Souldiers, who dare boldly lead them, not to shoot a ducke, a goose, or a dead marke, but at men, from whom you must expect such as you send. The want of  
this:



## Advertisements for the unexperienced,

this, and the presumptuous assurance of literall Captaines, was the losse of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Florida*, each surprising other, and lately neare the ruine of *Mewis* and *Saint Christophers* in the *Indies*: also the *French* at *Port Riall*, and those at *Canada*, now your next English neighbours: Lastly, *Cape Britton* not far from you, called *New-Scotland*. Questionlesse there were some good Souldiers among them, yet somewhat was the cause they were undone by those that watched the advâtage of opportunity: for as rich preyes make true men theeves; so you must not expect, if you be once worth taking and unprovided, but by some to bee attempted in the like manner: to the prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions suting my calling and profession to make good, and *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes.

A reference to  
the actum of all  
our prime disco-  
veries and plan-  
ters.

Now because I cannot expresse halfe that which is necessary for your full satisfaction and instruction belonging to this businesse in this small pamphlet, I referre you to the generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Isles*, and *New-England*; wherein you may plainly see all the discoveries, plantations, accidents, the misprisions and causes of defaultments of all those noble and worthy Captaines; Captaine *Philip Amadas*, and *Barlow*; that most renowned Knight *Sir Richard Greenvile*, worthy *Sir Ralph Layne*, and learned Master *Harriot*, Captaine *John White*, Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, Captaine *Martin Pring*, and *George Waymouth*, with mine owne observations by sea, rivers and land, and all the governours that yearely succeeded mee in *Virginia*. Also those most industrious Captaines, *Sir George Summers*, and *Sir Thomas Gates*, with all the governours that succeeded them in the *Summer Isles*. Likewise the plantation of *Sagadahock*, by those noble Captaines, *George Popham*, *Rawley Gilbert*, *Edward Harlow*, *Robert Davis*, *James Davis*, *John Davis*, and divers others, with the maps of those Countries: with it also you may finde the plantations of *Saint Christophers*, *Mewis*, the *Berbados*, and the great river of the *Amazons*, whose greatest defects, and the best meanes to amend them are there yearely recorded, to be warnings and examples to them that are not too wise to learne to understand.

This

This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to mannage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be employed, and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misemploying men in their undertakings. *Columbus, Cortes, Pizarra, Zotto, Magellanus*, and the rest, served more than an apprenticeship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which to the wonder of all ages, succesfully they effected, when many hundreds farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, scorning to follow their blunt examples, but in great state, with new inventions came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their noblenesse, state, nor greatnesse, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keepe us from imitating the others brave spirits, that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Capitaines, their posterity to great Lords, and their King to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest glory, power, and renowne.

Till his greatnesse and security made his so rich remote and dispersed plantations such great booties and honours, to the incomparable Sir *Fr. Drake*, the renowned Captain *Candish*, Sir *Richard Luson*, Sir *John Hawkins*, Capitaine *Carlile*, and Sir *Martin Frobisher*, &c. and the most memorable and right honourable Earles, *Cumberland*, *Essex*, *Southampton*, and *Nottingham* that good L. Admirall, with many hundreds of brave English Souldiers, Capitaines and Gentlemen, that have taught the Hollanders to doe the like: Those would never stand upon a demurre who should give the first blow, when they see peace was onely but an empty name, and no sure league, but impuissance to doe hurt, found it better to buy peace by warre, than take it up at interest of those could better guide penknives than use swords; and there is no misery worse than be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward; for who can indure to be assaulted by any, see his men and selfe imbrued in their owne blood, for feare of a checke, when.

What is requisite to be in a Governour of a plantation.

Th: expeditions of Queene Elizabeths Sea-Captaines.



when it is so contrary to nature and necessity, and yet as obedient to government and their Sovereigne, as duty required. Now your best plea is to stand upon your guard, and provide to defend as they did offend, especially at landing: if you be forced to retire, you have the advantage five for one in your retreat, wherein there is more discipline, than in a brave charge; and though it seeme lesse in fortune, it is as much in valour to defend as to get, but it is more easie to defend than assault, especially in woods where an enemy is ignorant. Lastly, remember as faction, pride, and security, produces nothing but confusion, miserie and dissolution; so the contraries well practised will in short time make you happy, and the most admired people of all our plantations for your time in the world.

*Iohn Smith* writ this with his owne hand.

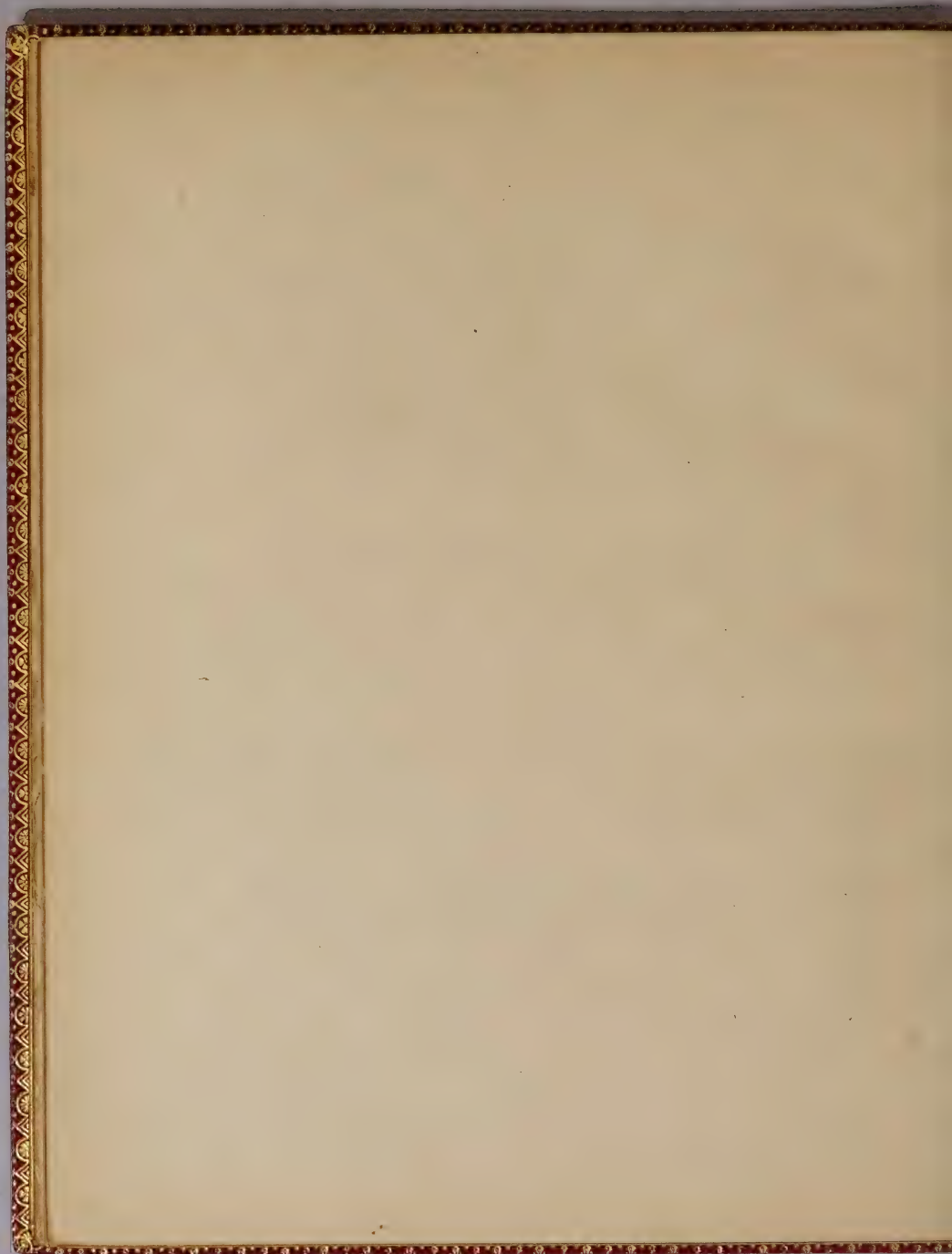
FINIS.

Errata.

Page 3. The Company in England say 7, or 8. thousand: the Counsell in Virginia say but 2200. or thereabouts.







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